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The individual family provides the initial situation and the primary meaning of the kinship terms, but this does not mean that a term has exactly the same meaning regardless to whom it refers. For example, the extension of the term mother to the mother's sister, father's brother's wife, etc. (see term 1), is a linguistic extension, and does not necessarily mean that sociologically they are equivalent. A native never confuses his mother and mother's sister (and all the other relatives to whom the term mother is used) with each other, although he may call them all by the same name. There is a decided difference in emotional tone according to whether the term mother is used towards a real mother or one of the other relatives to whom the term also refers. A classificatory mother does not observe the sexual taboos of a real mother. As Professor Malinowski has shown, the use of the same term emphasizes the similarities in the two relationships and ignores the differences.

While the kinship terminology extends throughout the moiety, i.e. a man calls all the women of his own moiety and generation, who are not otherwise related to him, sister, the initial pattern of behaviour formed within the immediate family is not always extended so far. Behaviour patterns, for the most part, tend to grow fainter and vaguer as the actual kinship relationship becomes more extended. Within the immediate family, and also within the clan, behaviour is closely correlated with the terminology. The weakening of the behaviour associated with certain terms occurs to a very small degree within the clan. But outside the clan, and in the further removed extensions, there may be no correlation, or very little, of behaviour with kinship terminology. For example, the behaviour of a man towards his *korup* (see term 14), who is his cross-cousin or mother-in-law, is one of strict avoidance, and this behaviour extends to all women of his *korup's* clan and generation, who are not otherwise related to him; but it does not extend to the

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women outside of this clan, even though they may stand in a classificatory *korup* relationship. One man is known to have married a woman who was *korup* to him in a very wide classificatory sense, and the marriage was not considered a transgression of the social rule.[1] The terminology is extended on both sides, through the father and through the mother and to include in-laws, the generation, moiety, and sex always being the same as in the initial or primary family relationship. Thus *nangga* (mother, see term 1) is always a female and of the same moiety and a generation above the speaker. This is true of a real mother and of one of the furthest extensions of the term such as to mother's father's sister's son's wife. But while the terminology is extended throughout the moiety, it is the clan through which descent and inheritance are traced which emphasizes behaviour. Thus a man will act to some degree as a son to all those women whom he calls mother and who are of his real mother's clan. But he does not necessarily act as a son to the other women whom he calls mother and who are of his mother's moiety but not of her clan. The clan forms the limit to which the behaviour accompanying the kinship terminology applies. Beyond the clan the terms may apply, but the patterns of behaviour have grown very faint. The one exception to this is the extension of the brother-sister relationship and the incest taboo between them. It is regarded as incestuous for any man and woman of the same moiety, regardless of their lack of actual relationship, to have sexual intercourse. Thus the strongest taboo of the society is applied the most widely.

One of the functions of the kinship system appears to be the elimination of sexual interest in regard to certain people and the restriction of it to others. The exogamous function

[1] This particular *korup* relationship was so far extended that the individuals concerned were unable to trace it for me, and it did not come out in their respective genealogies.

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231 834 is thought that the young pig would sicken and die; and pigs are very valuable property.

262 854 The fish taboo which has already been mentioned in connection with pregnancy holds over to this period of infancy. The death of one infant about a month old was attributed to the fact that his father had eaten one of the taboo fish. He was a man formerly from a bush village, and therefore not cognizant of the fish taboos of the coast people. Actually, as far as I could observe, the infant died from an infected sore on the upper part of his leg.

854 834 602 Now, while it is both the parents, but more often certain clan relatives, matrilineal grandparents and uncles and aunts, in particular, who have duties to perform towards the infant, such as making the ritual feasts, taking care of him, etc., it is only the parents who are supposed to observe sexual taboos. A maternal aunt is called by the term mother (*Nangga*), and she has certain duties to perform for her nephew or niece, and a maternal uncle has many responsibilities in the giving of feasts, etc., but sexual taboos are restricted to the real parents.

854 The baby has been born. The women of the opposite moiety have fought playfully. His mother has suckled him. His maternal grandmother has taken care of him. So also has his father looked after him. He has been the affectionate pet of his whole hamlet. His maternal uncle and grandfather have given feasts for him at birth, when he cut his first tooth, and when he received his name. He has been betrothed, although everyone knows this is not to be taken too seriously. A feast has been given by his parents for his possible future mates. And during all this time his parents are supposed to have been sexually continent. The baby is now able to walk and to talk a little, and is approximately about three years old. He has entered childhood.

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An affectionate relationship between a child and maternal uncle is also usual. Food and tobacco are frequently given by the mother's brother to his nephews and nieces. The relationship is a friendly, affectionate, gift-giving one. The children may eat with the mother's brother, but they never sleep in his house. They sleep in their parents' house, except the older boys, who use the men's house. The mother's brother is not the disciplinarian. If a scolding or spanking is due it is the duty of one of the parents. The maternal uncle does not even seem to be particularly concerned with his niece's or nephew's conduct. That is their parent's business. When Batu, a young, unmarried girl, stayed away very late one night, it was her parents who sat up and worried because they did not know her whereabouts. Her maternal uncle was fast asleep in his house and did not even know of his niece's absence. Also in minor details, such as defecation, assisting in the daily tasks, it is the parents who both command and discipline.

There is also a very affectionate relationship between parallel cousins of the opposite sex, such as a girl and her mother's sister's son. An affectionate attitude is shown in public between these two. For instance, one girl who had just reached puberty and her cousin, who was several years older, walked around hand-in-hand, or with arms thrown carelessly around each other, and playfully fondled each other. The same kind of affectionate playfulness exists between grandparents and grandchildren and a maternal uncle and his niece. To the foreign observer it is more noticeable in the behaviour between the cousins mentioned above, probably because of their similarity in age. In this parallel cousin relationship, it must be noted that the two are of the same clan and the kinship term between them is that of brother and sister. One sees much more demonstration of affection between these cousins who call themselves brother and sister than between real brothers

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and sisters, between whom a semi-taboo relationship begins at puberty. But although there is no demonstration of affection between them, in childhood real brothers and sisters play together.

The real force of taboo relationships does not make itself felt until after puberty. The most important of these, as has been indicated, are the cross-cousin relationships, that is, between a girl and her mother's brother's son and her father's sister's son. At the same time that the child learns the personal names of other relatives, he learns that personal names in this cross-cousin relationship must never be spoken, and that the term *koko* (the diminutive of *korup*) is used instead. He sees the avoidance between the adults who stand in this relationship, and he, too, avoids his *koko*, although perhaps not quite so actively as do the adults. Thus a child sees his father leave the compound when the maternal grandmother comes to visit them. Since the children spend most of their time on the outskirts of the adult world, they have full opportunity to observe patterns of behaviour between taboo and other relatives, as well as to learn how to scrape taro and handle the fishing-net.

Education here is for the most part a subtle process. From infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world. Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children. Obscene stories, scandal, gossip of all kinds, are repeated openly before children of all ages. There is one exception, and this is not a matter of age but of kinship; a mother does not discuss her sexual life before her daughter, whether that daughter be a tot of five or a middle-aged woman. She will talk about her sexual life before other women, and she will discuss another woman's sexual life before her daughter, but not her own *affaires du cœur*. She gives as her reason that she is

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and is used all the time. If you want to catch a woman or pig, the proper magic must be made. If you want to go on a shark-fishing expedition, or to cause the death of your enemy, again the proper magic must be made. What is even more important, from the economic point of view, is that magic is a private possession in the hands of the few, and is performed only for payment. The price for the performance of the various kinds of magic is as follows:

	Tsera
War magic	10
Black magic	10
Taro magic	1
Magic to detect black magician	2
Rain magic	2 to 4
Love magic	½ to 1
Abortive magic	½ to 1
Magic over dog to catch pig	2 to 4
Magic over new *uben* (fishing-net)	½
Magic to make a pig fat	½

The power of the magic lies in the spell, which the magician guards closely. The rite is performed openly for anyone to see, but the spell is muttered so that no one else can learn it. When I received magical spells from informants they had always to be assured of complete privacy, and often a magician would look closely around the vicinity of the house to make sure that no one was within hearing distance. The knowledge of the spells is a source of income, and should the knowledge become widespread the income would dwindle.

The rule for the acquirement of magical knowledge is that it comes from the maternal uncle, but as a matter of actual practice—from accounts of all the magicians questioned—it was received more frequently from the father, and sometimes the mother. The magician, when quite old, will teach his maternal nephew or son the spell, and the latter makes a payment for it. This initial cost is soon covered by a few performances, and after that there is pure profit, and a more

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necessary spell over the remains of some food (taro, fish, banana, or betel-nut) which the man whose death is desired has half eaten. The same spell will be effective if made over the faeces of the man whose end is willed. It is for this reason, as well as for the desire for cleanliness, that at the end of a feast the remains of food are always thrown into the sea, and great precaution is taken never to leave faeces where anyone will see it.

If it is known that a man has made black magic, his life is in danger. For the relatives of the dead man will be out for revenge. I was told, for instance, about a man named Kolulu who was thought to have caused the death of a man through black magic. The dead man's clan relatives later fought and killed Kolulu. This happened a few years before my arrival.

One method of detecting who has made black magic is to employ the services of another magician. Some of the hair of the person who has presumably been killed by black magic is given to a magician, who makes a spell over the hair, calling upon the ghosts (*tinuato*) of his dead clan relatives to help him.[1] They are supposed to find the man who made the black magic, and then to cause worms to enter his stomach and come out in his faeces. This will be found out, and everyone will then know who has made the black magic. During my visit this method was used once to my knowledge. Ongas' maternal nephew, a young child named after him, had died. Ongas was convinced that the death was due to black magic. He therefore went to see Ulak, a man living about sixty miles south of Lesu,

[1] In a few other spells (mainly fishing magic) there are also invocations to the ghosts of the dead clan relatives to assist the magician. Exactly how the ghosts are to assist I was unable to find out, and the natives seem to have no theory about it. They call upon the ghosts to help them, but exactly the way the ghosts are to do this is no more clear to the Melanesian than the exact way in which the Lord is supposed to bring about the answer to an earnest Christian's prayer is plain to the latter.

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764 and opposite moiety, *i.e.*, an "Eagle" woman would be washed by a "Hawk" woman, and vice versa. The same people then 616 carry the corpse (male or female) to the men's house, or to the house where the person had formerly lived. In discussing the 764 matter, a native will tell you that the custom is to take the corpse to the men's house, but as a matter of actual practice the writer observed that it was more often brought back to its former house, or, in the case of an old woman, to a daughter's house. The corpse [177 is clothed in its loin cloth (this of course is an innovation, the loin 291] cloth having been introduced by the whites) and set upon a bamboo structure called *bāk*,[7] in the doorway of the house. The corpse is propped up on this structure and the only native explanation is that this is something to hold the body over which the mourners will wail. At most of the funerals witnessed the *bāk* was there, but not functioning. Instead, the corpse was lying inside the house on the usual bamboo bed. The reason given for not using the *bāk* was that the corpse could not be made to sit upon it—the legs were too swollen, or some other similar reason. As soon as the body has been set upon its *bāk*, or bier, wailing is continued. By this time the people from hamlets near by have arrived, and soon those from the distant part of the village have come also. Word is immediately carried to the neighbouring villages and from these come in particular the clan relatives of the dead person. The wailing is kept up almost continuously day and night, until the body is buried. This period may be from one to three days, depending upon the age and prestige of the person who has died. During this interval preparations for the burial feast are in progress and naturally the longer the interval the more food can be collected and prepared.

764 The women go to the gardens and bring in the taro and then begin the work of scraping it and preparing it to be baked. Some- 602 times one sees the women scraping the taro and wailing at the same time. The men, in the meantime, are bringing in firewood, tending the *liga* (the pile of hot stones in which the food is baked), or are concerned with cooking pigs or fish. The actual direction of the preparations for the feast is in the hands of a clan relative—

[7] *ā* as in hat.

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a son or daughter, a nephew or uncle, on the mother's side, or a mother. The consort during this period is spending all his time wailing, and not taking any part in the actual preparations.

During this interval between death and burial there is a fairly large group of people assembled at the hamlet where the death occurred. All the clan relatives and their consorts—the extended family—and sometimes a few others are there. At night the sexes sleep separately. All the women sleep in one house and all the men in another, or perhaps the men sleep out of doors in a compound in front of a house. There is abstention from all sexual relations.

If the funeral is that of a very old person and the rites are being carried out in full detail dancing is part of the ceremonial. At the funeral of an old and important woman, Maling (her sister's son was a chief), there was dancing on the two nights which elapsed between the time of death and the burial. Maling died early in the day and that night all the women of the village and the neighbouring villages danced. The next night the men of the village and of neighbouring villages danced. On the following morning the corpse was buried. Each night dancing went on continuously until sunrise. Different groups danced, so that no one person danced all night long. The whole community (the village and neighbouring ones) was present as an audience. If the energy of the dancers appeared to flag, the daughter of the dead woman exhorted them to continue with promises of the payment which would later be made to them. The dances were the traditional ones used on all ritual occasions, and participants were members of the community, regardless of their kinship to the dead person. Dancing is a part of the rites only when the dead person is very old.

The actual burial, however, does not vary very much according to the age of the dead person. Some time in the interval preceding burial the corpse is put in its coffin, usually an old canoe with the pointed ends removed. Members of the opposite moiety carry the corpse from the house in which it has been resting into the cemetery. They are decorated with leaves and white lime is used as a facial adornment. These pall-bearers advance in a square formation, singing, lift up the corpse, circle around the compound two or three times with it and finally carry it into the cemetery. At the same